13: Rivet--255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Besides these traits of character which make the Jíbaro rather agreeable, he has others which make him a really dangerous being. Crafty and changeable, incapable of attachment, he never hesitates at treachery. Assassinations are not rare in Jíbaro country. The descendants of the fierce assailants of Logroño and Sevilla de Oro are worthy of their ancestors. The traveller whom they welcome with joy perhaps will fall under their lances some hours later. The missionaries have many times experienced their duplicity. One of them tells how on his return from Canelos he was abandoned one evening on the bank of the river, without shelter, without food, without defense in the middle of the virgin forest, by the very Indians who the same morning had spontaneously and enthusiastically offered to accompany him to Baños (1).

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1. Voyage d'exploration chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit., page 257.

13: Rivet--255 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Very vindictive, the savage never forgets an injury, no matter how trifling, and he is only satisfied when he has achieved a brilliant revenge. We have seen that this feeling brings about a permanent state of these bloody wars between tribes which endanger the future of the race.

According to the standards of the Whites, the Jíbaro is lazy, but perhaps the judgment is too severe; it is true the men leave the hardest work to the women, but custom demands it. He cannot tie himself down to a regular job, but in the first place his independent nature refuses to accept the least subjection, and on the other hand, the savage does not see the need of increasing a well-being which satisfies him; he works only when he wishes to acquire some desirable object (gun, ax, brandy); otherwise, surrounded by a prodigal nature, in a climate of unequalled mildness, he has nothing to fear from hunger or cold, and he does not have to worry about a future which is assured in advance. Therefore, from his point of view, the Jíbaro has reason for not working. In addition, we have seen that when the occasion arises he knows how to prove himself enduring and resistant and to put to work all his moral energy and physical vigor.

20: Dyott--179-180 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 183

"The argument is sometimes put forward that the white man, being of superior mentality, should raise the savage up to his level by setting the example; but this is entirely wrong, for your example would be quite beyond their comprehension. If you consider yourself to be a more highly developed human being, then it is your business as such momentarily to descend from your high perch and tread the more simple path of the lower plain. This is a far from easy task, but there is no other way of reaching an inferior intellect. An analogous situation exists in our own country [180] between parent and child. What a yawning gap generally separates these two!

The actions of Indians are prompted by motives entirely different from our own, and the most trivial thing in the world, to our way of thinking, is sometimes interpreted by them into an offence or even an act of hostility. On one of my expeditions, a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare. It is all right to be original in one's own country, but don't let originality assert itself too strongly when mixing with really primitive people."

20: Dyott--180
116, 183, 273

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"....Let us consider the Jivaro's attitude towards drunkenness. In London, a man might feel ashamed of himself if he drank to excess. In New York, such a condition might engender feelings of envy rather than scorn. But amongst the forest Indians, nothing but virtue is ascribed to those who get drunk. Their theory is that if it makes a man happy to get drunk, then let him drink often because the spirits want their children to be happy and any means to that end is justifiable."

25. .Vigna--46[6] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 183

The respect that the Jibaro has for another's property and for sincerity, has already been mentioned. The Jibaro never speaks in a low voice. He has nothing that he can or must hide from the others. Frequently he expresses even his most intimate thoughts in a loud voice. It is a shameful thing for the Jibaro to be surprised in a lie or in the theft of another's property; the change of this conscience in the Jibaro is due to contact with white people or to an access of passion or anger.

25: Vigna--46-47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291, 183

Personal modesty is generally great in both men and women. The boy, until puberty, goes about nude in and out of the house; the girl, from a tender age always wears the "tarachi." The man is reserved in his actions, and of very few words; the [47] woman has great modesty in her deportment, but almost none in her manner of speaking.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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THE Jivaro proper (*auiiuri inara*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning soul. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[2]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[4]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sepa; the Rio Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cuyaimi; the Rio Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *Utitl Ahaiu*, *Kupuil*, and *Uuis Ahaiu* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Maiu* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hintal* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HuayA*, *Tupi*, and *Naita*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

2 [For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 390-392 Analysis]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and customarily need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is so characteristic of this population. What is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jivaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fairy (*nunui*) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 185 128 794

...to achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding *tsunki*, witchcraft, ...e kin-ship.

There kinds of *wakani* are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *nekatak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *ankut wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[3]

[194] [787] [154] **Arutam wakani** is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient spectre" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakani is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

[761] [64] [158] [154] The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[4] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

[761] [562] [208] A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims keep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[5] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

[552] [185] [776] [785] [876] 794 787 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind tilting the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nékás wakanl, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; external and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-humanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and drinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jivaro people. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsuratama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jivaro and the Peruvian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jivaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *aruta* or *arutam* in the Jibaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *aruta* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "tsuratama" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsurutama" in the form itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jivaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

32:Harner E-S (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *w*; palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
sh English *sh*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant, palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unmarked vowels restricted to ultimate syllables are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (SSRF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided immeasurable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *aratwa*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as in the case with many Jivaro words. See Tanner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Rio Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from smoke in order to be able to envision and protect the dreamer-person under the influence.

[7] One exception is the belief arutam which only considers animals when it arises.

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be unerringly well singled out by this trait alone.

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *awasap*, whose soul is not so easily vanished and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[10] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

[12] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *muishi*.

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *musak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the emerging soul can catch him.

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa ceremonial surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any comments made in this paper on the subject are presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

I was born to die fighting. 538

Jivaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the 626
interior Jívaro as to what is correct, normative social behav- 189 •
ior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them.

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis 754
among the Jívaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic ill- 682
nesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and 626
poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[3]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
578 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
648 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
• 183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *untsuri huarä* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.